

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 0209

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, VN
SUBJECT: DIPLOMATIC NOTE ON VIET-NAM SITUATION

REF STATE 7284

1. ON JANUARY 13, I DELIVERED NOTE (REFTEL) TO ACTING
FOREIGN MINISTER TREPCZYNSKI (FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI
IS IN CUBA WITH GIEREK), TELLING HIM WE INTENDED TO
PUBLISH IT AT NOON IN WASHINGTON.

2. HAVING READ THE NOTE, TREPCZYNSKI COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS:

A. AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT KNOWS, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
ADHERES STRONGLY AND CONSISTENTLY TO THE POSITION THAT THE
PARIS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE FULLY OBSERVED BY ALL THE PARTIES.
FOR ITS PART, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS DOING ITS BEST TO
CONTRIBUTE TO THE REALIZATION OF THE AGREEMENT. THIS IS
NOT AN EASY TASK. (HERE TREPCZYNSKI INSERTED AN ASIDE: "IT
SOMETIMES SEEMS TO US THAT PERHAPS YOU HAVE YOUR DIFFICULTIES
WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF MR. THIEU. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR
RELATIONS WITH THE DRV CANNOT BE CONSIDERED ANY LESS
DIFFICULT".)

B. THIS IS THE POSITION WHICH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
CONSTANTLY STRESSES IN ITS DISCUSSION WITH THE DRV. HOWEVER,
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRV REPLIES THAT THE PROVISIONS OF
THE PARIS AGREEMENT REGARDING, FIRST, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD

(NCNRC) AND, SECOND, THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES TO POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DRV, HAVE NOT BEEN FILLED BY THE U.S. AND THE GVN. THE ATTITUDE OF THE DRV IS THAT, IF ONE SIDE CAN IGNORE OR VIOLATE ARTICLES OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT, IT CANNOT EXPECT THE OTHER SIDE TO FULFILL THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. IN EFFECT, TREPCZYNSKI SAID, THE DRV CONTENDS THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. AND THE GVN TOWARDS THE AGREEMENT HAS RELIEVED THE DRV OF THE NECESSITY OF OBSERVING ITS PROVISIONS.

C. NEVERTHELESS, TREPCZYNSKI SAID, THE POSITION OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT IS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, THAT THE PARIS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE OBSERVED BY ALL THE PARTIES AND THAT THE VIET-NAM PROBLEM SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. "IN PARTICULAR," TREPCZYNSKI SAID, "WE DO NOT WANT ANY CHANGE IN THE SITUATION IN VIET-NAM WHICH WOULD THROW A STRAIN ON US-POLISH RELATIONS. THAT IS A PARAMOUNT CONSIDERATION FOR US."

3. SPEAKING MORE INFORMALLY, TREPCZYNSKI ADDED THAT, BASED ON WHAT THEY HEAR FROM HANOI, THE DRV IS TRYING TO IMPROVE ITS MILITARY POSITION, BUT AN ALL-OUT MILITARY OFFENSIVE IS NOT BEING PLANNED.

4. I SAID THAT WE ARE, OF COURSE, AWARE OF THE POSITION THE DRV TOOK. WITH REGARD TO ITS CONTENTION THAT THE NCNRC HAD NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED, IT WAS PRECISELY WITH THIS IN MIND THAT, IN OUR NOTE, WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE GVN'S CALL FOR REOPENING OF THE TALKS IN PARIS AND SAIGON WITH HANOI AND THE "PRG". WITH REGARD TO THE CONTENTION THAT THE U.S. IS NOT CONTRIBUTING TO POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DRV, I SAID WE COULD HARDLY EVEN THINK OF REQUESTING FUNDS FROM THE CONGRESS FOR THIS PURPOSE WHILE THE DRV WAS ACTING AS IT WAS. I STRONGLY URGED THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT REITERATE TO HANOI THE IMPORTANCE OF A PEACEFUL APPROACH RATHER THAN CONTINUED RESORT TO AGGRESSION.

5. TREPCZYNSKI SAID THAT HANOI WAS ALSO DOING A GREAT DEAL TO PROMOTE MEMBERSHIP BY THE "PRG" IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AT GENEVA AND ELSEWHERE. OF COURSE, HE SAID, CONFIDENTIAL

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WE SUPPORT THEM IN THIS, ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO BE ENTHUSIASTIC SINCE THE "PRG" DOES NOT EVEN SEEM TO HAVE A FIXED CAPITAL OR A DEFINITE TERRITORY. I SAID THAT, AS HE KNEW, THESE WERE AMONG THE REASONS WHY WE COULD NOT FAIL TO OPPOSE TREATING THE "PRG" AS THOUGH IT WERE A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. TREPCZYNSKI INDICATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THIS.

6. TREPCZYNSKI THEN ASKED ABOUT OUR PLANS FOR PUBLISHING THE NOTE. I SAID I ASSUMED WE WOULD ISSUE THE TEXT AND SAY WE HAD DELIVERED IT TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE ON VIET-NAM, WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF THE DRV, "PRG," AND GVN. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT WHAT HE HAD SAID NOT BE MADE PART OF ANY PUBLIC PRESENTATION. I SAID I REGARDED HIS STATEMENTS AS PART OF OUR CONTINUING CONFIDENTIAL DIALOGUE ON VIET-NAM AND NOT AS MATTER FOR PUBLICATION. DAVIES

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